munal unity they mean that they want the Muslims to surrender and submit to the Congress and sign their own death warrant. Then comes removal of untouchability, prohibition (on which point they will not find us differing), Khadi, village industries, village sanitation, basic education, adult education, uplift of women, education of health and hygiene, propaganda of 'Rashtrabhasha,' love of one's language and working for economic equality. Economic equality with whom? With the British and not with us.

"One important amendment I would make is to add that the Congress accepts Pakistan and thus make it 14 points. This will make settlement very easy. As to the question of the language, love of one's language and working for economic equality, we will not have to quarrel over it. We will speak what we think proper as our mother tongue in our zones where we want to rule as an independent country and you speak whatever you think proper.

Purna Swaraj

"Mr. Gandhi may say what he likes. He has picked up this issue of freedom of speech. He is only fighting for the freedom of speech, he says. Read this latest statement of the high priest of the Congress. There is no doubt left that there is only one method left which he has picked up for coercing and embarrassing the authorities, to make them bend and yield to this troublesome nuisance that he is creating by this individual *satyagraha*, not for freedom of speech but for, as he himself says, "the construction of Purna Swaraj or complete independence." Referring to civil disobedience he says that it can never be applied for general terms such as for independence. The issue must be definite and capable of being clearly understood and within the power of the opponent to yield. This method properly applied, he says, must lead to the final goal.

Qa'id-e-Azam Explains Political Situation

(Continued)

"What is the final goal, I ask? Not freedom of speech but Purna Swaraj. Do you believe that he is fighting for freedom of speech? Does any man with commonsense believe it? He is fighting for the final goal. This is only one method of compelling the opponent to yield on this point. Then will come another point, and then another. This is behind Mr. Gandhi's *satyagraha*.

Ignorance.

"I think I have taken all this trouble in order to make my young friends understand the true position in the country, because, I regret to say, I find a colossal amount of ignorance among the Muslim intelligentsia and students community.

"The Congress is against any war effort. They must preach and shout slogans for the prevention of war effort. But what have they done in Sindh? There the Congress Party is supporting Mr. Allah Bux although he is supporting the war effort. Not only is he supporting the war effort but he has actually accepted the nomination in that so-called National Defence Council. When the question was raised, Mr. Gandhi left it conveniently to the Parliamentary Committee. And this Parliamentary Committee decided that the peculiar circumstances of Sindh were such that the Congress Party should not withdraw the support from the premier, Mr. Allah Bux.

"What did the Congress Party do in Assam? They are willing to support Mr. Chowdhry who mysteriously left the Coalition Party of which he was a member and by virtue of which he was a member of the Ministry. He has formed another party. What is the position of the Congress? They were ready and willing to support the Ministry of Mr. Chowdhry. But the monkey came in to do justice between the two cats and Section 93, instead, has come in. Now both Sadullah and Chowdhry can go to rest

"And in Bengal what is the Congress Party doing? The Congress Party has supported this new coalition ministry formed by Mr. Huq and by virtue of it he was able to form a Government and continue to be the Premier. It was by virtue of Mr. Huq being the Premier, Lord Linlithgow announced, that the latter will now have the honour of the support of this great Premier who will now be, as Premier of Bengal, a member of this so-called National Defence Council. The Congress is supporting him.

"Now I make a Christmas gift of Mr. Huq to Lord Linlithgow. (Cheers). I make another New Year's gift of the Nawab of Dacca to the Governor of Bengal. I am very glad and I am happy that Muslim India is rid of these men who are guilty of the grossest treachery and betrayal of the Muslims.

"This shows that no man is indispensable to the organisation. If he is a traitor or a quisling he must be expelled. We shall now march more honourably and become stronger when we have weeded out this class of treacherous individuals. Now no power on earth can stop us from going forward and growing.

Our Position

"My young friends, with regard to the British Government and the League, I think I need not take up much of your time. Our position has been made repeatedly clear. Only the day before yesterday I issued a statement to the *News Chronicle* clarifying our position. Our position is just and I have no doubt it will continue to be so. I think no man, who has got the slightest sense of justice and fairness, can blame us. Our position has been that we recognise the common danger to Britain and India. We recognise the common peril. In the interest of our own people and to protect our own homes and hearths, we are willing to take our share in this peril. But we cannot do that successfully unless we are placed in a position of having real and genuine share in the responsibility and authority of the Government in the Centre and the provinces.

"The British Government are responsible for wasting these more than two years and I think that if they go on delaying like this, they will regret and rue the day for allowing this sincere, honest and straightforward offer of the Muslim League to lapse.

Solidarity

"In the end I say to you one thing more" Muslims, you must maintain complete unity and solidarity amongst yourselves. Nobody can help you if you quarrel among yourselves, and you will go under. Therefore, maintain unity and solidarity. I want you that however much you may be moved. however much you may feel wronged, whatever may be your grievances, you should not resort to any individual action which will prejudice or jeopardise our cause and precipitate matters.

"No individual action, I mean of resistance or defiance of law and order, should be adopted by any individual. Not even the district League, not even the Provincial League should do. Keep yourself absolutely united and solid and wait. When the order comes from the All-India Muslim League then I will be the first to match with you. At no time was it more necessary than at this very critical and dangerous time that you should implicitly pledge yourself and selflessly surrender yourself to our watchwards—*faith*, *unity* and *discipline*." (Continued applause.)